

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 146496
ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY EA/J:EMFEATHERSTONE:LE
APPROVED BY EA:RHOLBROOKE
S/S:RCASTRODALE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII
COMUS/J YOKOTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 146496

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, JA, US

SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE-TOGO MEETING MAY 31

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE MET WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO AT LATTER'S REQUEST MAY 31. TOGO'S MAJOR PURPOSE WAS TO RECEIVE BRIEFING ON BRZEZINSKI TRIP. IN ADDITION, HE AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY COVERED OTHER TOPICS INCLUDING REFUGEES, JAPANESE VISITORS, UNU AND US-SOVIET RELATIONS. SUMMARY BY TOPIC FOLLOWS.

2. BRZEZINSKI TRIP.

HOLBROOKE SAID THAT JAPAN VISIT HAD GONE EXTREMELY WELL AND THAT THEY HAD EXCELLENT DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH PM AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 146496

FOREIGN MINISTER. TALKS WITH FON MIN SONODA HAD GONE PARTICULARLY WELL, WITH SONODA CONVEYING TO ALL, THROUGH DRAWING ON HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH FRG FON MIN AND OTHERS, A SENSE THAT JAPAN WAS NOW MORE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FOREIGN POLICY THAN HERETOFORE.

3. AMBASSADOR TOGO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD DR. BRZEZINSKI AND

THE CHINESE HAD DISAGREED ON KOREA. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT THERE HAD REALLY BEEN NO CHANGE IN EITHER SIDE'S POSITION.

4. HOLBROOKE REMARKED THAT THE CONVERSATIONS ON VIETNAM HAD BEEN MOST INTERESTING. THE CHINESE WERE EXTREMELY UPSET ABOUT THE VIETNAM-CAMBODIA CONFLICT, REFERRING TO VIETNAM AS A "HEGEMONIC POWER," AND TELLING US THAT WE SHOULD NOT CRITICIZE CAMBODIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS IF IT OPPOSED HEGEMONY. DR. BRZEZINSKI HAD TOLD THE CHINESE THAT THE US WAS NOT TAKING SIDES IN THE CONFLICT BUT THAT WE HAD TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. RE NORMALIZATION, HOLBROOKE REITERATED THAT US HAS NOT DECIDED ON HOW OR WHEN TO ACHIEVE NORMALIZATION. HE DESCRIBED AS "WILDLY INACCURATE" AN ASAHI ARTICLE OF A FEW DAYS BEFORE, SPECULATING THAT THE US HAD TOLD THE PRC IT WOULD CONSIDER HELPING WITH ARMS MODERNIZATION IN EXCHANGE FOR A PEACEFUL TAIWAN SOLUTION.

6. RE KOREA, HOLBROOKE SAID THAT DR. BRZEZINSKI HAD VISITED DMZ AND DISCUSSED THE GROUND FORCE WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE WITH US COMMANDERS. HE DISCUSSED THE CHINA TRIP AT LENGTH WITH PRESIDENT PARK BUT DID NOT GET INTO INFLUENCE-BUYING SCANDAL. AMBASSADOR TOGO SAID HE HEARD JAWORSKI WAS READY TO WITHDRAW HIS POSITION. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 146496

HE DID NOT EXPECT JAWORSKI TO WITHDRAW.

7. REFUGEES.

EA/J DIRECTOR PLATT EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA'S RECENT OFFER OF \$10 MILLION FOR THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES. HE NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF PRACTICAL QUESTIONS HAD ARISEN SUCH AS WHEN THE FUNDS WOULD BE AVAILABLE, WHETHER THE WHOLE AMOUNT WOULD BE earmarked FOR INDO-CHINA USE OR FOR RESETTLEMENT IN JAPAN AND WHAT SORT OF BUDGETING ARRANGEMENTS THE GOJ HAD IN MIND.

8. POL COUNS ARIMA RESPONDED THAT THE GOJ INTENDED TO USE THE FUNDS FOR INDO-CHINESE REFUGEE RELIEF IN COORDINATION WITH US PROGRAMS. GOJ DID NOT INTEND FOR CONTRIBUTION TO DEFRAY UNHCR'S DEFICIT OF SOME \$17 MILLION. TOGO ADDED HE WAS UNSURE OF THE TIMING OR THE BUDGETARY PLANNING, BUT GUESSED THAT SUM MIGHT WELL BE INCLUDED IN ANY SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET THIS FALL.

9. TOGO DISCLOSED THAT ANY RESETTLEMENT OF INDOCHINESE

REFUGEES IN JAPAN WOULD BE A VERY LIMITED PROJECT NOT INVOLVING ANY SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF PEOPLE OR AMOUNTS OF MONEY.

10. HOLBROOKE EMPHASIZED SERIOUS AND HITHERTO UNDER-ESTIMATED MAGNITUDE OF REFUGEE PROBLEM AND NEED FOR HELP IN THIS AREA. HE ADVISED JAPANESE TO COORDINATE THEIR PROPOSED ASSISTANCE WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY.

11. VP HONOLULU SPEECH.

TOGO REMARKED THAT HE CONSIDERED THE VP'S HONOLULU SPEECH TO HAVE BEEN AN EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD MESSAGE. HOLBROOKE AGREED, OBSERVING THAT IT HAD NOT RECEIVED AS MUCH ATTENTION AS IT SHOULD HAVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 146496

TION AS IT SHOULD HAVE.

12. US-SOVIET RELATIONS.

TOGO REMARKED THAT MEDIA REPORTS WOULD LEAD AVERAGE PERSON TO SUSPECT THAT US-SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE MARKEDLY DETERIORATED RECENTLY. HOLBROOKE EMPHASIZED THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SOVIETS. US WAS CONCERNED ABOUT AFRICA, HE SAID BUT WAS NOT MOVING INTO A NEW COLD-WAR POSTURE. TOGO SAID THE PRESENT MULTI-POLAR STRUCTURE WAS ONLY POSSIBLE IF US REMAINED FIRM. HOLBROOKE ASKED HIM TO ASSURE GOJ THAT US WOULD RESPOND TO ANY CHALLENGES BUT WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS FOREIGN POLICY. TOGO ADDED THAT HE DID NOT SHARE NEWSPAPER ASSESSMENT OF CHANGE IN US POLICY. VANCE

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